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ABSTRACT

The profile of American education in the twentieth century, especially at the secondary and postsecondary undergraduate levels, is mirrored in the chronology of College Board policies and programs over its 75-year history. After a review of the first 75 years, speculation is made on the next 25 years and the shapes that may be taken by American schools and colleges, and by the College Board itself. Tables are included and cover: (1) percent of high school graduates to first-year college entrants; (2) U.S. population by age group; (3) AP examinations; (4) CLEP examinations; (5) SAT volume; (6) federal funds for higher education; (7) tuition costs per year; (8) CSS volume: parents' confidential statements; (9) increase in black enrollment; and (10) college board membership: institutions and associations. (Author/KE)

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The College Board and the Twentieth Century

By Sidney P. Marland Jr.

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By Sidney P. Marland Jr.

College Entrance Examination Board, New York, 1975

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Introduction

When those 12 college presidents[1] and other representatives of the Middle States Association[2] gathered at Columbia University on November 17, 1900 to lay the foundations for this institution—the College Entrance Examination Board—they did their job well. While the purposes that prompted their assembly were vastly different from those that engage us today, they fashioned a social instrument that remains unique and lively after 75 years. The meeting of 1900 at Columbia had its headwaters in earlier deliberations of the National Education Association's Committee of Ten, chaired by President Eliot of Harvard. The groundwork had extended over the period 1893 to 1899, culminating in a resolution of December 2, 1899 by the Association of Colleges and Preparatory Schools of the Middle States and Maryland to establish what became a year later the College Entrance Examination Board. They agreed that *standards affecting transition from school to college should derive* from *covenants mutually conceived* and *mutually executed*, bringing order to what at the time was a chaotic admissions apparatus. Separate and competing colleges with different procedures and techniques for exercising selectivity among the small college-going fraction of the population got together to construct a *voluntary system* upon which they could depend for secondary school academic standards and reliable and uniform information on the outcomes of such standards. Yet in so doing they made certain to retain their institutional freedom to utilize the information as they wished. For those ensuing 75 years, the College Entrance Examination Board, in a chro-

1. Of Barnard College, Bryn Mawr College, Columbia University, Cornell University, Johns Hopkins University, New York University, Rutgers College, Swarthmore College, Union College, University of Pennsylvania, Vassar College, and Woman's College of Baltimore City (now Goucher College).

2. The full name of the founding assembly was The Association of Colleges and Preparatory Schools of the Middle States and Maryland.

nology of evolving and expanding services and programs, has been that *voluntary system*.

The College Board has afforded to every student, from the most obscure rural high school or the depressed urban high school to the most exclusive preparatory school, a common currency for fair appraisal in the competition for educational access.

The results of the system, purposely or inadvertently, especially during the years since 1950, have been the democratization of college admissions. Sometimes mistaken as an elitist instrument, the College Board has provided a means for quantifying, in credible terms, the relative academic promise and the relative financial need of many millions of Americans. Howard R. Bowen has noted that since 1950 "profound developments" have changed higher education: "an elitist and selective higher education system was transformed into an open-ended mass system . . ."[3] The College Board, while but one force, has been a dynamic one in that transformation.

The profile of American education's triumphs and vicissitudes in this century, especially at secondary and postsecondary undergraduate levels, is mirrored in the chronology of College Board policies and programs over its 75-year history. At the risk of depending too heavily on a wavy-line trajectory of continued change, this essay, after reviewing the first 75 years, will speculate on the next 25 years and the shapes that may be taken by our schools and colleges, and correspondingly by the College Board itself. We shall view the quarter centuries in sequence.

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3. Address before the American Association for Higher Education, Chicago, March 24, 1975.

The First 25 Years

In the early 1900s the college-going population numbered about 200,000. This was about 4 percent of the age group. There were about 1,000 colleges and universities. The pattern of education leading to college attendance was probably as much elitist as it was meritocratic, and the "system"—if indeed it was a system at that time—favored the socially and economically select group of the population. The early instruments for admissions testing, mainly the fine-meshed sieve of the Board's newly developed College Admissions Examinations, reflected the state of the country. The subject-matter examinations[4] were at once a reflection of the high school curriculum and a preview of the undergraduate offerings. The examinations were, then, a fair tool for guarding the gates of academe; or perhaps for opening the gates cautiously and selectively, when other values (in addition to a scholarly flair) were a factor. Those values undoubtedly included a good name and a full purse. To this day, these would not be impediments. But their correlation with admissions policy has certainly diminished.

As the nation changed, as the demands of business and industry and science changed, and as the secondary school base broadened enormously, the institutions of higher education also began to change and to be transformed. With them, and as an integral part of the reforms, the College Board and its policies also changed, under the powerful and colorful leadership of Nicholas Murray Butler of Columbia University. But the essential spirit of *voluntary association for mutual standard setting*, with institutional freedom to utilize the products of the Board's services according to the institution's standards and discretion, has remained the enduring yeast in the millions of loaves that

4. Botany, chemistry, English, French, German, Greek, history, Latin, mathematics, physics, zoology.

have followed. The original idea for the College Board is attributed to President Charles W. Eliot of Harvard, who found in Butler a zealous collaborator. Butler's reminiscences in 1925 noted that reservations were expressed by President Francis Landey Patton of Princeton and by President Ethelbert D. Warfield of Lafayette who argued that:

"The establishment of the Board would invade the prerogatives of the colleges and would prevent their admitting certain students whom it might be greatly to their advantage to have upon their rolls. He pointed out that a college might wish to show special favor to sons of benefactors, to sons of trustees or to sons of public men of importance, who presumably would have difficulty meeting the announced admission requirements.

"President Eliot's 'crushing retort' pointed out that President Warfield had missed the point of President Butler's resolution. The proposed College Entrance Examination Board 'did not provide,' said President Eliot, 'for admission to college, but only for an examination and the issuance of certificates based upon such examination. When those certificates were taken to any given college, that college might do with them exactly as they pleased.'

"The vote which immediately followed, on the adoption of the resolution, was unanimous."[5]

This colloquy sets in place and reflects to this day the essential and persisting spirit of voluntary association. Yet one ideal on which the founders placed great importance has fallen short of the large expectation it held, at least in contemporary practice. Continuing Butler's 1925 accounting:

"The essential point is not the formulation and conduct . . . of a single series of college admission examinations, highly im-

5. Address by Nicholas Murray Butler, November 6, 1925 on the subject of the 25th Anniversary of the College Board.

portant and significant as that is. The important thing is the close and intimate association of the secondary schools and colleges in dealing with a common interest and a common task. What this Board has done is to break down the isolation of the schools and the isolation of the colleges, and to bring them together in close and constant contact for the solution of their common problems."

There is today less close and intimate contact between the schools and colleges through the College Board or any other medium than Butler perceived and extolled in 1925. There are reasons for this diminution of the "essential point" the founders held so high. These reasons should unfold in the accounting that follows of subsequent quarter centuries. But it should be remembered that even after 25 years, the original 12 members had grown to only about 45, of whom 35 were colleges and 10 were secondary school teachers serving as individuals appointed by the regional accrediting associations. The intimacy and collegiality intrinsic to the narrow dimensions of the Board membership in those first decades indeed could have been precisely what Butler so glowingly described. Years later, Frank Bowles wrote of the circumstances of 1915:

". . . the Board had an established community of schools and colleges that it served . . . This community consisting of some 30-40 independent colleges, located with few exceptions in the northeastern United States, and some hundreds of private and public secondary schools that supplied their students, also located for the most part in the northeast.

". . . There was the tremendous communalizing effect of the College Board program itself. The program necessarily involved hundreds of teachers from both schools and colleges, in the work of reading the examinations. These reading sessions provided a wonderful forum on the state of school and

college education, which convened annually and lasted about 10 days. . . . Gathering to read the examinations was sociable, financially rewarding, intellectually profitable, and a grand climax to the school year. It bound together in acquaintanceship and friendship hundreds and in the end thousands of teachers within the community. Probably there has never been anything else quite like it in the world of education in any country."[6]

The collegial secondary postsecondary ethos toward which the founders proudly pointed, and which Bowles reported, was a product of the relatively small system and the techniques of examination writing and reading that obtained in the first quarter of this century. In its original Plan of Organization the College Board established that "no later than December of each year" the Board would name, for each subject being examined, a college teacher as chief examiner and one additional college teacher and one secondary school teacher to prepare the examinations to be used the following spring. Thus, each year new examinations, all to be administered as "written examinations," were constructed. Correspondingly, "not later than May" of each year the Board would name a staff of readers "to inspect and give a rating to the answer books." Teachers of college and secondary school made up the list of readers. It was this community of individuals that constituted Butler's "breakdown of the isolation." During the first 25 years a total of 450 teachers served the Board as examiners and 1,500 as readers, many of them serving over a period of years.

In 1910 the number of tests administered and read was

6. Bowles, Frank, *The Refounding of the College Board, 1948-63*. New York: College Entrance Examination Board, 1967. Frank Bowles was President of the College Board from 1948 to 1963.

3,731. By 1925 the tests numbered about 72,500, and undoubtedly a substantial number of readers were assembled for their "inspection." Today the College Board, for all its good effort to effect the unity and collegiality between schools and colleges perceived as of overarching importance by the founders, comes close to the goal only in the Advanced Placement Program. This program, still carrying some of the original vestiges of the written examination, brings together 450 or more readers each summer. These readers do indeed sustain the ethos of the early years both socially and intellectually in a spirited fraternity of common purpose. Yet they represent only a small fraction of the Board's programs. The Admissions Testing Program, the readers long since overtaken by the computer, now serves well over a million students a year. The Advanced Placement Program—one of our smallest, at about 85,000 examinations in 1974-75—serves more students than the entire Board admissions program served in 1925.

In 1915 the original design for separate secondary school subject examinations[7] gave way to comprehensive examinations, consistent with the changing needs of the institutions and in response to Board policy direction prescribed by the membership. In both the "old" and the "new" designs the examinations were administered during "a week of testing in June." At that time there were 148 test centers in the United States and 4 abroad. Today there are 3,648 test centers in the United States and 255 abroad.

For all the vision of the founders (and perhaps in line with their intentions), the College Board remained until 1950 a system of small numbers and a single service. The process of examination writing, reading, and reporting grew in sophisti-

7. Nicholas Murray Butler, *op. cit.*

cation, as did the store of knowledge and experience in psychometric theory and practice.

The Board had sent down roots into the standard-setting arrangements of American education to the point where, as Bowles observed ". . . its definitions of requirements were indisputably accepted as the curricular controls for the college entrance program and its marking standards were the quality controls."

As the quarter century ended in 1925, the Executive Committee authorized the expenditure of $15,000 for initial research that would lead to the Scholastic Aptitude Test. In that year of 1925 the numbers attending college had grown from 200,000 in 1900 to about 900,000. The percentage of college-going high school graduates had grown from 4 percent to 11 percent. The College Board tested 19,775 candidates, or about 2 percent of the entrants.

In closing this chapter, I offer two vignettes of the conditions of testing and of the "mirror" held up to schools and colleges by the Board in its services. In the 1900-1905 period the number of examinations administered in Greek (4,635) was substantially exceeded in number only by Latin (18,079), mathematics (16,455), and English (8,692). French and German trailed Greek, and physics and chemistry were far behind at 1,470 and 1,153 respectively. History was about as popular as Greek at 5,041.

At the end of the period, 1921-25, Greek barely remained on the list, at fewer than 2,000 examinations for the five-year period, while French had risen to 52,662. The largest number of examinations for the period was in mathematics (99,267), with Latin next largest at 61,065. English and history followed at 53,276 and 39,235 respectively. The sciences still trailed but had overtaken Greek, as physics reached 16,027 and chemistry

11,722. German, interestingly, had experienced a tripling of numbers during the middle part of the quarter century and then fallen by 1925, probably influenced by World War I, to about the level it held in the first years (4,500-5,000).

In his Annual Report of October 1, 1901 Nicholas Murray Butler, following the first year of operation, noted the inadequacy of the Board's $6,000 budget for academic year 1900-1901:

"The experience of the year shows that to maintain the work of the Board properly by paying an adequate salary to a secretary or associate secretary, and by appropriate payments to examiners, readers, and proctors, not less than $8,000 a year will be required."[8] (The Board's budget for 1974-75 was close to $40 million.)

In that first year the Board had established its examination fee by formal action taken on February 1, 1901: "Before admission to examination in any year each candidate shall pay a fee of $5.00, and shall receive a receipt therefore."

By rough extrapolation the year 1900 had a factor of 24 on our Consumer Price Index scale. That index stood in March 1975 at 157.8 or roughly 650 percent over the year 1900. For what it might be worth, if the fee for the Admissions Testing Program in 1900 were to have followed the CPI for these 75 years, it would now be about $32.50 instead of $6.50.

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8. *The Work of the College Entrance Examination Board, 1901-1925*. Boston: Ginn and Co., 1926, p. 83.

The Second 25 Years

THE PERIOD from 1925 to 1950 was relatively passive as the Board's history is now viewed. The ardent and often strident debate that had accompanied the establishment of the system of testing and standard setting had subsided. The Board was an accepted if narrowly focused institution. At the beginning of the period in 1925, it was administering examinations to about 20,000 candidates from 1,700 schools. (Each student must have averaged over three examinations, since some 72,500 examinations were recorded.) The number of secondary schools offering candidates had risen from 237 in 1900, but the number of student candidates taking College Board examinations still represented less than 8 percent of the college-going population, i.e., 20,000 of the 238,000 freshmen entering college at the time.

By the end of the quarter century in 1950, this number (20,000 candidates) had risen steadily to over 75,000 in general correspondence with the increased rate of the college-going population. Of the roughly 500,000 entering freshmen, about 15 percent had taken the "Boards." Boys tested outnumbered girls by about 3 to 2 (45,000 to 30,000). There were 1,200,000 young people graduated from high schools in 1950, and thus only about 6 percent of the graduates were College Board candidates. But it should be remembered that this was in part a function of the small number of institutions that required the SAT at that time. (Jumping ahead a little, it will be seen in the third part of this history that in 1975 we are administering the Scholastic Aptitude Test to about 33 percent of the students being graduated from high school, representing close to 75 percent of the entering freshmen.)

While the influence of the Board became increasingly pronounced as a source of national standards, cooperatively con-

structed by the member institutions, its actual membership remained relatively small and homogeneous. In the 25-year span from 1925 to 1950, new members joined at the average rate of three or four institutions a year. Total membership in 1950 was 141 colleges and associations.

It must be remembered that for all the founders' high aspirations for "a close and intimate association of the secondary schools and colleges," secondary schools as such were still not included in the membership. Presumably they were represented by "their associations" and by individual teachers selected by the sponsoring regional associations. Soon after the Board was founded, amendments to the charter had liberalized membership beyond the Middle States Association insofar as college membership was concerned, but membership by secondary schools was not provided for.

In 1903, the College Board resolved, under what proved to be a short-lived policy, to allow enlarged and virtually unrestricted college membership. "Any college or university which has an . . . entering class of not less than fifty students . . . may, by vote of the Board, be elected to membership. . . . Representatives of the secondary schools may be appointed [as individuals] in such manner as the Association choosing them may direct [by the New England, the Middle States, the Southern States, the North Central associations] . . . Each association may appoint one secondary school representative for every three colleges . . . provided . . . that the number of secondary school representatives shall in no case exceed five."

By 1906, while retaining the restrictive and selective arrangements for the representation of secondary schools, the Board sharply reversed its open-door philosophy of 1903 and established stern and elaborate criteria for college and university membership. In an account of the history of Board mem-

bership policies published in the *College Board Review* in 1967, Edward S. Noyes remarked: "By adopting these standards, the Board began to bring on itself the reputation of an exclusive club. . . . As one looks back over the Board's history, the slow early growth, confined to a homogeneous group of institutions, seems to have been a benefit. If it was a club, it was a very congenial club; its very smallness contributed to free discussion and the arrival at a consensus; and the members had a sense of belonging to an institution in which they firmly believed."[9]

It may puzzle the reader to note that the foregoing passages have not dealt with the happenings of the second quarter of the century but the first. The reason for their treatment here derives from the fact that changes in the Board's policies and programs did not fall neatly into 25-year blocks. This was especially true of the conditions of membership, here being treated. For the circumspect, limited, exclusive, and intentionally private aspects of the Board's membership policies prevailed essentially as resolved in 1906 until well into the second quarter century—indeed until 1942. Perhaps that is one reason the second quarter was "relatively passive."

In 1941, responding to expressed interests of a number of colleges and universities seeking membership, the Board authorized a review of its own admissions policies. One of the conditions of membership that the appealing institutions had found forbidding was the requirement that an institution should possess sufficient endowment funds to produce no less than $50,000 in revenue per annum. Mr. Noyes observed: "The club was too expensive for them."

9. Edward S. Noyes had been associated with the College Board for 46 years when he wrote this account. He had started as a reader of English examinations in 1921 and culminated his service as Chairman of the Board of Trustees and Chairman Emeritus, the only person to hold this honor.

The following year marked a major change in the membership policies affecting institutions of higher education. The Board abolished those parts of its criteria for membership which had advertently made it an exclusive accrediting agency. Instead it resolved that "A college or university applying for membership must be included in the list of institutions approved by the Association of American Universities." Combined with this condition of membership was the now familiar stipulation "which use or plan to use the Board's services."

The Board still held a hand on what might have been unbridled access to "the club" by requiring a two-thirds vote of the membership for acceptance—"and the decision shall be final."

Throughout the period the College Board remained what it was originally meant to be, a narrowly focused, quite self-sufficient association of selective institutions. The Scholastic Aptitude Test (installed in 1925 to supplement the subject tests) and the companion Achievement Tests were its only programs. With no computers yet in place, the collegial arrangements for test writing and test reading provided the core for fraternity and revenues, sufficient to sustain the spirit and the budget. A staff of 47 full-time people, located in Princeton, was adequate to the functions of coordination and management.

Yet as the quarter century wound down, it appears that sheer numbers of candidate papers (142,888 in 1947), sans electronic data processing, had become a major problem. It should be noted that in 1941, under the duress of wartime travel restrictions, the essay examinations were discontinued. The issue of whether or not the examinations should include essays, however, continued to reappear in the postwar years, usually centering on the writing of English (viz., the Writing Sample). And many segments of the membership understandably still cher-

ish the idea of a written examination as opposed to one that is mass-produced and machine-scored.

Although many psychometricians and research studies assert that the essay is not really essential to the measurement process of either admissions or placement, many others believe it has a role. And of course vestiges, important vestiges, do remain at the Board today in the form of the Advanced Placement Examinations, and in the yearly readings that take place in that program. Of Advanced Placement, more in the review of the third quarter.

Returning for a moment to the circumstances of membership and the tradition of exclusivity, major institutional reform began in the late 1940s and led to liberalization of the membership rules. Frank Bowles, then of Columbia University, chaired a committee on membership appointed in 1941, which was interrupted by the preoccupations of World War II and did not present its findings until the Annual Meeting of October 1946. The principal effect of the new Articles of Association of 1946 was to remove virtually all conditions leading to exclusivity. Further, the membership up to then had consisted of individuals who either represented elected member institutions of higher education or were appointed representatives of the secondary school community or were members-at-large. In 1946 the Board became a membership organization comprised of collegiate institutions and educational associations and of representatives-at-large, including (in addition to the Middle States Association and the New England Association) such associations as the National Association of Secondary School Principals and the Headmasters Association, both of which had been limited previously to "observer" status in Board activities, with no vote. By 1948 the new rules of membership had encouraged high school participation to the extent

that of 107 members, 18 were individual secondary school representatives of regional and other associations and 89 were institutions of higher education; the school representatives all were granted voting privileges. It would not be until 1957, however, that secondary schools themselves would be admitted as institutions.

Clearly, the Board had by midcentury moved steadily away from its "exclusive club" nature in the extent and type of services being performed. The organization had in fact gone far beyond admissions testing and was administering examinations for graduate study, for the Selective Service System, the United States Department of State, and others. This growing volume of activity played an important role in the decision to consider the creation of a separate agency to deal with operational details and carry out research functions as well.

After an extensive study by the Board's Committee on Testing, representatives from the American Council on Education and the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching joined the Trustees of the College Board in agreeing to merge their separate and several testing activities to form the new organization. Edward S. Noyes, writing in the *College Board Review* of 1967 observed: "In an act of unparalleled altruism the Board gave up its main office in Princeton, all of its governmental contracts, all of its test item files, a large portion of its reserve funds, and its appointed (top management) staff . . . to the new organization. There were some in the Board who regarded this act as tantamount to suicide. . . ."

The Trustees received the report of the Committee on Testing chaired by James B. Conant, then President of Harvard, in October 1947. The report recommended the "divesting" of the operational and research services through the activation of what was to become Educational Testing Service and the

"merging" of the testing services then being carried on by the Board, the American Council on Education, and the Carnegie Foundation into the new institution. The Board's Trustees accepted and approved the report, which was then approved by formal resolution of the membership at their Annual Meeting in October 1948. At that time Edward S. Noyes, the College Board's Chairman, Professor of English at Yale, and Chairman of Yale's Board of Admissions, stated:

"... while there were differences of opinion as to whether or not the merger would benefit American education, the belief that it would be beneficial was supported by enough of those who had investigated the problem to reassure [us] on that score.

"[The] chief reason for favoring the proposal was [the] belief that ... the merger would allow the Board to divest itself of the responsibility of 'big business', [by turning] over to a testing agency the important but extraneous measurement programs ... and to return to the consideration of educational problems within its own province—questions in which school and college men [sic] are primarily interested."

On looking back from the vantage point of 1975, this action of 1948 was a wise move. Not only did the Board eschew suicide, it reinforced the essential character for which it was founded a half-century earlier—a voluntary *association*, constituting a *forum* for the deliberation and implementation of policies affecting standards and articulation and access between secondary and postsecondary education. Frank Bowles and his gifted associate William C. Fels were freed from the operational administration of the burgeoning testing programs to engage in the broad questions of policy development and membership services. The Board, having helped establish ETS, and given it very substantial financial support to carry out its work as a new institution, retained control over what tests would be

given, at what price, when, and who would serve on the committees of examiners.

In the ensuing years, Educational Testing Service has flourished and expanded, along with the growth in its work for the Board that began quickly after its establishment. Today fully half the work of ETS is not associated with the College Board. If the Board had not had the good sense to share in the launching of ETS, it would have been so encumbered with massive technical, research, printing, mailing, and test-administration responsibilities that little attention or leadership margin could have been set aside for the essential processes of the forum of institutions engaged in policy development and associational needs and interests. On the other hand, without the base line of College Board services to be performed, and the corresponding dependable revenues to be derived, it is quite likely that ETS would have been something less than the internationally respected research and measurement institution that it is today.

The work of rationalizing the roles of the two companion, though separate, institutions must have given the managers of the early years considerable anguish. To this day there are debates and occasional disputes over the division of labor and policy-making prerogatives. These are healthy and constructive products of lively and mutually trusting institutions, neither of which would be as effective as it is without the complementary and quite different resources of the other.

Writing in the *College Board Review* 20 years later in 1967, Noyes reflected:

". . . once freed of the routine operations, the Board, under the vigorous leadership of Frank Bowles and William C. Fels . . . [became] an increasingly important forum for identification and discussion of the problems of transition from school to college, [could] pay more attention to the proper use and inter-

pretation of its tests, and become a far greater influence in American education than it [had] ever been."

The quarter, indeed the half century ended as the Board reached a watershed in its character. The club had given way to openness. In the years from 1946 to 1950 the collegiate membership had doubled (from 53 to 115 institutions), foreshadowing a continuing swift growth. The colleges of the West and Midwest along with a few from the South began to seek not only membership but an active voice in what had been a snug New England and Middle States enclave. Large public institutions began to take their place in governance along with the old select private college club members. The spirit of *voluntary association* was growing and flourishing as a unique instrument of educational self-discipline.

The urgings of President Charles W. Eliot of Harvard a half century earlier in 1896 had reached a remarkable level of fulfillment. He had spoken before the Schoolmasters Association of New York and Vicinity:

"The thing we need . . . is an examining board, authorized to act for a large number of institutions . . . conducting . . . examinations all over this country. . . . On the central board there should be some representatives of secondary education. The results should be . . . used by any college or scientific school in the country, just as that college or school chose. The . . . record of each candidate, as certified by the board, would be taken at its face value wherever it should be presented."[10]

It is a source of wonder that so large an idea should in 50 years have become operational with such explicit and congenial reality. President Eliot left his brilliant mark in many places; certainly the College Board is one such place.

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10. *The Work of the College Entrance Examination Board, 1901-1925. Op. cit.*, p. 21.

The Third 25 Years

If the Board's history during the second 25 years was one of relative passivity and slow growth, the quarter century ending in 1975 has been one of burgeoning expansion both in numbers of people and institutions served and in the array of programs developed. While much of the growth and diversification was a function of the times, of the changing needs of institutions and students, much too was due to a new attitude and initiative on the part of the Board's leadership, a new attention to steadily growing sectors like state university systems, public universities, and two-year colleges. The swift rise in the proportion of high school graduates entering college after World War II demanded increased secondary school services, in both breadth and depth.

Under Frank Bowles's lively direction, the Board took firm advantage of the delegation of operational responsibilities to ETS at the midpoint of the century. He turned his creative talents to the enlargement of the association and the formulation of new policies and programs, quickly dispelling the notion that the Board was finished. Bowles had joined the Board as Director (chief executive officer) in 1948, following the major relocation of leadership that accompanied the creation of ETS. (Henry Chauncey, as Director, and William Turnbull, as Secretary, had moved to ETS, where the ensuing years of their leadership have brought high eminence to that institution.)

Whatever the College Board had been before 1950, it became something quite different after 1950. Bowles had brought his former student, William C. Fels, also from the Columbia faculty, to the Board's staff as Secretary soon after his own move. Bowles writes of the early years:

"The first two years were slow moving. The Board's membership enlarged slowly, and the number of candidates grew, also slowly. The increased income meant that we were under

no great pressure to push or develop a new program. Nevertheless, Mr. Fels and I agreed that if the Board were to be as useful as we felt it should be, it would have to grow. To find out what would have to be done, we took on the task of visiting schools and colleges, trying to learn what we were doing right (or wrong). He concentrated on schools, hoping to encourage more use of Board tests. I concentrated on colleges, hoping to encourage more members and firmer requirements for use of tests.

"As we worked, the evidence for the need for such work accumulated. Mr. Fels found himself trying to convey the most rudimentary principles of guidance and college application—when, indeed, he could get any opportunity for a reasonable conversation with school principals or guidance officers. His problem was to make progress against a built-in hostility from the majority of the public secondary school administrators whom he met. We finally analyzed this hostility as having three sources.

"First, outside the Northeast there was a generalized resentment directed against the Board as agent and symbol of the so-called exclusive private colleges. Second, the Board's tests and the admissions procedures based on them were taken as clear infringements on free communication between schools and colleges. Third, one of the major national professional organizations for school administrators was strongly and directly opposed to expansion of the Board's influence. . . .

"We . . . experienced, fairly regularly, direct denunciation of the Board as an educational oligarchy from the floor of public meetings held by the Board for the purpose of discussing admissions problems. . . . [We] had great difficulty in getting public school personnel to participate in Board affairs. It was several years before we could invite school principals and

guidance officers to participate in committees and programs with any confidence that the invitation would be accepted.

"For my part in dealing with colleges, I often found myself discussing steps in the handling of college admissions with a registrar who saw tests of any kind as only a procedure imposed between him and a school principal whom he had known for years, or with a college president who could see tests only as threatening to reduce the number of students from whom tuition could be collected.

"Nevertheless, and despite all problems, we made progress, and above all we sensed a gathering need for help and services to deal with a swelling tide of candidates. Curiously enough, many school and college people denied that there was any present or foreseeable increase in the number of high school candidates for college; perhaps because the increased enrollments caused by veterans continued to engage their attention and tended to obscure the slightly increasing enrollments of students coming directly from high school. By the early 1950s, however, it was generally accepted that the percentage of high school graduates seeking college entrance was increasing."[11]

Any uncertainty or wistfulness that might be revealed in the foregoing passage must have soon given way to exuberance. It will be recalled that the membership of the Board was only 141 colleges and associations in 1950. Within the ensuing 10 years, membership nearly quadrupled. The SAT was administered to 75,630 candidates in 1950, nearly two-thirds of them boys. Only about 5 percent of the high school seniors took the tests, representing about 10 percent of the freshmen entering college.

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11. "The First Two Years: 1948-1950," in *The Refounding of the College Board, 1948-1963. Op. cit.*, pp. 23-24.

Things were beginning to change rapidly in education, and the Board began to change in tempo with the increased emphasis on college-going in the United States that had been building since the late forties. There was both interest in and initiative for adaptation and innovation in response to perceived needs of the new member institutions and their expanding clientele. In particular, the needs of the membership began increasingly to find a place for expression in the model of the *forum*—the instrument now occupying a high place in the Board's membership and governance procedures. An early forerunner of the forum was launched in 1954 in the Colloquium on College Admissions, which continued annually for 10 years.

That same year the College Scholarship Service (CSS) was inaugurated "under great stress and strain, involving a considerable amount of opposition to the idea." The new service had its genesis in the chaotic conditions in student financial aid at the time, as outlined cogently by Frank Bowles:

"The actual problem underlying the obvious one was a shortage of students. The supply of veterans had finally run out, and the number of candidates from the schools had not increased sufficiently to take up the slack, so there was a real dearth of applicants. The stronger colleges were using their scholarship funds to fill their classes, often using a form of auction, in which bids would be made and raised over a period of some weeks. The colleges that had less appeal and less money were forced to follow suit, with the difference that they accepted candidates who were less well prepared and gave paper scholarships that were actually only a lowering of the tuition charge."[12]

12. *Op. cit.*, p. 93.

The minutes of the meeting of the Executive Committee of October 1953 gave endorsement and budget authority to the launching of the CSS, with Board Chairman George M. Mullins (professor of mathematics, Barnard College) noting: "It seems to me that this is so important that the expenditure of $100,000 is quite justified." Over the years between 1954 and 1975 the operating deficits for conducting the College Scholarship Service have totaled several million dollars in administrative, research, and development costs underwritten by the Board's other programs. As of 1974, the CSS came into self-sustaining balance and should soon be in a position to contribute to the research and development fund for other new services under study.

Although many who went to college before the 1950s still think of scholarships as prizes for academic merit, the CSS has successfully established the more pervasive principle that financial assistance should be awarded on the basis of demonstrated and objectively measured need, to the end that access to college and choice among colleges might be determined primarily on the basis of ability and not on the basis of family resources.

In the years subsequent to its establishment, the CSS worked closely with a growing membership to refine and advance a series of basic principles of financial aid administration that have now become a vital part of the process nationwide. In addition, the association itself gained status and cohesiveness with the creation of the CSS Assembly some 10 years ago, and with its leadership in the advancement of professionalism for financial aid officers. CSS research, training programs, and publications all played a key role in systematizing the principles and practices of student aid administration nationally.

In the early 1950s, the Fund for the Advancement of Educa-

tion supported two experimental studies of general education and of admission with advanced standing. From the base of course descriptions and examinations developed in these school-college explorations grew the College Board's Advanced Placement Program, also initially assisted by a grant from the Fund. Today, after two decades of growth and refinement, this program remains one of the most treasured, albeit relatively small-scale, activities of the College Board. Because of the regular and continuing involvement of school and college teachers in the development and reading of the examinations, Advanced Placement is especially valued by those who, with a sense of history, perceive its genealogy in the intimate collegial arrangements of the early years of the Board's existence when faculty were so closely involved at the heart of the examinations program.

From its beginnings in 1955 under Board auspices, Advanced Placement has grown from the base of 104 schools and just over 1,200 students to its present dimensions involving literally thousands of schools and colleges and some 70,000 students yearly. The original 10 examinations have grown to 13 subject areas and 17 examinations, and still other fields are under study in 1975. Notwithstanding Advanced Placement's aura of quality and rigor, it remains a fiscally subsidized endeavor, as it has been from the start.

In 1955, Frank Bowles, perceiving the long shadow of the college enrollment boom, wrote "We know that college entrants in 1953 were 572,000 and in 1954 were 581,000, and we have reason to predict there will be 600,000 next fall." Bowles probably could have extrapolated his calculations to the present period, when there are 1,500,000 college entrants each year. But he would probably have been viewed as foolhardy and extravagant. Nonetheless, the steadily increasing numbers

of college-going young people continued throughout the decades of the third quarter century, and with their increase, the traditional Admissions Testing Program of the Board grew and flourished. Intensive research, validation, and scientific discipline surrounded the program through the expert services of ETS.

An important legal and educational step was taken by the Board in 1957, when the organization was incorporated and received an official charter from the Education Department of the State of New York. In part this also reflected an increasing awareness of the membership and the leadership of the public nature and accountability of the Board, and in part the move demonstrated and documented, in rather specific terms, the goals and purposes of the association:

". . . to serve educational organizations in connection with the transition of students from secondary schools to colleges and other institutions of higher learning and in the coordination of secondary school and higher educational activities relating to the identification and evaluation of student capacities. . . ."

This excerpt from the charter serves just to highlight the mission; included also are provisions for such other activities as the continuance and development of a program of tests and examinations, research, and the important forum function.

In 1959 the Preliminary Scholastic Aptitude Test (PSAT) came into place, as the Board increasingly emphasized greater access to higher education—that is, inclusion as distinct from the perceived characteristic of *exclusion*. The high schools had begun to thaw somewhat in their perception of the Board, and the PSAT undoubtedly had an affirmative influence in that direction. Clearly the purpose of the PSAT, as a practice tool, was designed to acquaint young people with the SAT to follow, and

to give counselors and students useful normative information concerning college aspirations.

In that same year, 1959, the first secondary schools, *as institutions*, were elected to membership as fully equal voting members along with colleges and universities. It will be recalled that despite the symmetrical interests of the founders, a subordinate place in the governance of the Board had been afforded secondary schools since the beginning. Even in 1959 the rules of membership affecting secondary schools were cautiously circumscribed, with rotating memberships "depending on the current number of collegiate votes." Edward S. Noyes, in the *College Board Review* of 1967 notes the requirement "to keep the combined associational and school votes equal to one-third of the total Board votes."

As the years passed, membership committees continued to wrestle with the problem of secondary school identification, selection, and role. Now, in 1975, with a total membership of 2,318, virtually half are secondary schools and school systems. The unresolved issue, for reason of the very large number of secondary schools, as compared with colleges, is how to arrange for continuity of membership by schools, as distinct from the present system of rotation, and still preserve symmetry of total numbe[illegible]nd access to membership by those interested.

As the 1950s ended and as the Board began to anticipate and prepare for the continuation of the educational boom in the next decade, two parallel and significant events took place, both in 1959. The first was the appearance, in Iowa City, of a competitor, the American College Testing Program (ACT), a new measurement group based initially at the University of Iowa. Although ACT began its work with early emphasis on admissions testing services to public universities mainly in the

Midwestern area, it soon widened its field to include other areas of the country, and within a relatively few years had established a reasonably large market of clients, though there was obviously overlap into Board membership.

During this same year, the College Board had moved to set up the first of its several regional offices to give better service and technical assistance to the steadily increasing numbers of individual clients and institutions. The Western Regional Office (in Palo Alto, California), the Southern Regional Office (in Sewanee, Tennessee), and the Midwestern Regional Office (in Evanston, Illinois) were all established in 1959, and the Southwestern Regional Office (in Austin, Texas) followed in 1964. Then came the New England and Middle States regional offices in 1971, following earlier arrangements for Northeast regional services starting in 1961.

In 1963 a Puerto Rico Office was established to develop services for students and institutions in the Commonwealth and in all of Latin America. After more than a decade of growth, this office now conducts a variety of guidance, admissions, and placement services, with special emphasis on the Prueba de Aptitud Academica (PAA), a Spanish-language test similar to the SAT. After several years of assistance from the mainland programs, PAA has become economically self-sustaining as of 1975. Other programs in Puerto Rico include advanced achievement tests in Spanish, English, and mathematics. New developmental work is going on in programs offering counterpart services to the College-Level Examination Program and the Decision-Making Program.

A Washington Office of the Board was opened in 1965 to provide better liaison with federal agencies and education associations. In the past 10 years, the work of this office has broadened considerably to include work with the District of

Columbia schools, a range of policy studies (with foundation support), and consultation with members of Congress and representatives of various Washington-based agencies.

In 1965 the Board assumed responsibility for the College-Level Examination Program (CLEP), which had been initiated at ETS as the Comprehensive College Tests and continued under development by the Board with support from the Carnegie Corporation. This was the first major move by the Board to reach beyond the accustomed age level of the school-to-college transition. CLEP was designed to serve the "new" learner; the independent adult student who warranted a respectable assessment of his academic accomplishments outside the conventional college classroom. This program anticipated the thoughtful work of K. Patricia Cross of ETS, who in her studies of "the learning society" estimates that some 30 million adults are now engaged in one form or another of nontraditional study.

But CLEP was discovered by able and self-motivated high school students, as well as adults. And by the early 1970s there was confusion and discord between the Advanced Placement Program, designed for able and ambitious 16- or 17-year-olds in school, and CLEP, designed for independent adults out of school. Some secondary school students began submitting CLEP credentials, instead of AP Examinations, thus bypassing the honored AP classes in high school. As the third quarter of the century ends, we and our colleagues at ETS are heavily involved in aligning the content of the two instruments, making them psychometrically consistent by subject areas, exploring possibilities for a common fee schedule, developing a book on college AP/CLEP policies, and in general moving toward a set of deliberately linked instruments and appropriate services through which to serve the two programs' separate but similar

clienteles. It is also noteworthy that the Board has in 1975 entered into an agreement with the Armed Forces to offer CLEP at military installations for all service personnel both in the United States and abroad, consistent with incentives relating to the all-volunteer military manpower policy.

The Student Search Service (SSS), introduced in 1971, has already proven to be a fruitful response to the expressed needs of institutions. While most new Board programs have taken several years to find general acceptance and economic stability, SSS is already used in 1,000 colleges and universities. Students enter the pool voluntarily, authorizing their names and addresses to be circulated to educational institutions and agencies looking for students with particular characteristics. Both students and institutions, by virtue of the computer, have found satisfaction in the matching that ensues.

The Decision-Making Program (DMP) is one of the newest of the Board's services, again on outgrowth of an expressed need of institutions, especially secondary schools. The course of study in decision-making is increasingly sought by schools, and more recently by colleges and other institutions, as a supplement to other guidance services. The key role of the Board, apart from creating and disseminating curricular materials, is the training of professional staff in this sensitive instructional program.

The Comparative Guidance and Placement Program (CGP) was developed in 1969 and is undergoing major scrutiny in 1975. The program has been used only moderately by the community colleges, its intended audience. Yet where it is used it enjoys high favor. Modifications of format and processing techniques leading to cost reductions are being explored in 1975, with the hope of serving a much larger constituency if the changes are found to be useful.

This accounting cannot embrace all the current activities of the College Board, yet a few additional themes must be cited, if only in sketch.

Starting in the middle 1950s the Board began to address the issue of racial equality, both in its internal affairs and in its service programs. For example, our test centers throughout the country were consciously desegregated as early as December 1962, by special action of the Board of Trustees, after careful and extensive planning.

With increasing diligence, especially during the past 10 years, the Board has sought to add its weight to the redress of racial inequities in education. Among the noteworthy actions, apart from affirmative action staffing policies, are the test-fee waiver for low-income students, the Upper Division Scholarship Program, Project Open and Project Access, workshops for Mexican American financial aid administrators, and similar activities. Beyond these concrete programs and services, the Board, through its research and development affiliation with ETS, has sought to identify and remedy any idiosyncracies of our tests or of their administration that could adversely affect the performance of minority candidates.

In terms of governance and associational affairs the third quarter century witnessed a substantial broadening of organizational structure. As noted earlier, in 1959, following years of uncertainty, the secondary schools were accorded full status as members. Limiting membership to relatively few selected schools at the start (50 in 1959), the bylaws were further liberalized in 1968 to allow virtual equality in numbers, providing only that a simple majority of the voting members be institutions of higher education. That symmetry, as noted earlier, is evidenced by the total profile of membership (as of October 30, 1974):

Four-year colleges	1,041
Two-year colleges	136
Subtotal	1,177
Secondary schools	999
School systems	76
Associations	66
Total	2,318

In the early 1970s, by formal action of the membership, a major overhaul of the Board's system of governance was conceptualized and put in place. A new authority was established in the six regions to elect Trustees, appoint members to the national nominating committee, and appoint members to the major advisory councils. These councils were reconstituted with charges calling for regular and systematic review of existing programs and plans for future program development. If the association acted, as I believe it did, to reassert the authority of the institutional members in the affairs of the Board, its action was timely and effective. The very swift growth of the organization in numbers of members as well as individuals served, together with the swift increase and diversity of program offerings, all combined to demand a more studied design for democratic participation and representation.

The year 1975 brought the first full cycle of the "new governance." Trustees named by all regions, together with those elected nationally, sat together in harmony, earnestness, and in a spirit of devotion to the large purposes of the Board. If the founding fathers found joy in the Board's early perception of itself as a "close-knit community . . . bound together in . . . friendship," that perception has not been lost in bigness. There prevails to this day among the numerous committees, councils,

assemblies, and Trustees a spirit of common purpose unlike any other instrument of education that I know. Notwithstanding the leap from the 141 members of 1950 to over 2,300 today; notwithstanding the leap from 75,000 tests administered in 1950 to the total (all programs) administered in 1975 of nearly four million, notwithstanding the leap from the single admissions testing program in 1950 (the SAT and later the Achievement Tests) to some 17 distinct programs and services —there remain to this day the spirit of comradeship in common purpose and the commitment to the ideals of problem-solving through voluntary association that since 1900 have been the unique character of the College Entrance Examination Board.

A literal example of the extension of this philosophy occurred in 1974 and 1975 when the processes of student financial aid had become so complex and duplicative as to verge on chaos. New federal systems, competing voluntary systems, and proliferating state systems cried out for order. Students, their families, high school counselors, and student financial aid officers were the victims. With encouragement from several foundations, the College Board assembled some 26 agencies and individuals, persuaded former Commissioner of Education Francis Keppel to chair the assembly, and set in motion the National Task Force on Student Aid Problems. Having helped put the parts together, the Board's delegates participated only as equal voices with the other participants in achieving dramatic reforms in the student aid delivery system. Following a year of work, all parties including federal officials as well as the private and public services reached accord in the design of a common instrument and methodology for the uniform treatment of family resources as a component of the student aid formula. The processes of voluntary association in the solu-

tion of a large and complex social problem gave substance to the theory that "government should intervene only when other systems fail."

One more important element in the support structure of the modern College Board deserves special mention because it is integral to many of the services and activities mentioned. I refer to the steadily increasing volume of quality publications that have helped document and chronicle the many programs and research projects of the organization. During the period 1950-1975 the volume of publications produced and distributed by the College Board has experienced much the same rapid growth as other parts of the institution. Prior to the 1950s the publications totaled under 200,000 a year, relating largely to the Admissions Testing Program. *The College Handbook*, first published in 1941, reflected the narrow focus of this service: it described the 43 member colleges. Today's *Handbook* describes all the 2,863 undergraduate postsecondary institutions in the U.S. Office of Education's *Education Directory*.

In the 1950s, what is now the publications department came into being, with an annual volume of publications at about 280,000. In 1975 this figure has increased nearly tenfold to reach about 27 million pieces a year, produced and mailed to subscribers, members, customers, and the public. The total for the quarter century is well over a quarter of a billion items.

Redeeming President Eliot's 1896 declaration before the New York Schoolmasters Association, the Admissions Testing Program, consisting of the SAT, the Student Descriptive Questionnaire (SDQ), and the Achievement Tests had by 1975 reached the level of 1,250,000 candidates a year. The addition of the SDQ in 1971 provided students and institutions with a valuable new source of supplemental information. This biographical document allows students to describe educational

objectives, extracurricular participation, self-perceived skills, and areas in which counseling may be needed.

An additional 1,200,000 students were taking the PSAT in 17,500 secondary schools across the land, and over 1.5 million College Scholarship Service statements were processed.

Of all entering college freshmen in 1975, nearly 75 percent had taken the SAT. Virtually every state and every institution of higher education in the United States made some use of the summary data afforded by the elaborate management information deriving from what Eliot called a "record . . . certified by the board . . . taken at face value wherever presented."

The American Education Research Association in 1974 published a report on the SAT that would have pleased the founders:

"The analysis of data over a 13-year period gives firm evidence of the SAT's incremental effectiveness in supplementing the high school record as a predictor of college grades. The gain in predictive efficiency has been appreciable for male and female students entering a diversity of institutions offering a variety of academic programs. The conclusion is drawn that the incremental effectiveness of the SAT is now clearly established and that future developmental efforts need not be directed to the increased accuracy of predicted college grades.

". . . The accomplishment of such a measure is no trivial feat, and its uses for counseling and placement purposes have undoubtedly been [underutilized] by its role in selective admissions."[13]

It was noted in earlier pages that the College Entrance Examination Board played an important role in the continuing democratization of higher education in the United States. The

13. Cameron Fincher, "Is the SAT Worth Its Salt?" in *Review of Educational Research*, Vol. 44, No. 3, pp. 293-305.

strong movement toward educational egalitarianism generated in public policy and law since 1950 could have overwhelmed our institutions. If there had not been a system for weighing student characteristics of aptitude and financial need, one would have had to be invented. It is noteworthy that the instruments first devised in 1900 as a means of sustaining academic standards and exclusivity have evolved with the times to serve the opposite purpose of insuring objectivity and fairness of access to all.

The mirror of educational change that has been held up to the College Board for these three quarter centuries is worth examining for signs of the future. The concluding part of this essay will speculate upon the future of American education as it appears to be seen dimly through the evolution of the College Board.

The Years Yet to Come

TO ATTEMPT any review or summary of some seven decades of development and progress naturally involves the danger of oversights and possible misinterpretations. But these are of relatively small consequence when compared to the much greater hazards of attempting to predict the future. Yet as I have examined the earliest intents and goals of the Board's founders and followed the logical sequences to the present, I have become more and more intrigued with the thought that the Board is in many ways a reasonably accurate reflection of major aspects of American education through the years under consideration, and hence that the organization, its services, and programs might well serve as a logical base for some future projections.

There is today a strong disposition among some in education to view the future as an uncontrollable force rushing at us with preordained conditions—most of them bad. Others, like Daniel Webster, argue that: "There are many objects of great value to man which cannot be attained by unconnected individuals, but must be attained, if at all, by association."

Certainly, Nicholas Murray Butler and Charles W. Eliot believed, with Webster, that reasonable and intelligent men and women can, through association, shape the future to desirable ends.

As I approach this final section of my commentary, I find a compulsion once again to lay stress on the importance of the ways by which the Board has *by means of its association* furnished the national forum for the assembling of "reasonable and intelligent men and women" to anticipate the future and act on their judgments to confront some of the vagaries of education. One alternative to this spirit of voluntary association would have been submission to governmentally prescribed educa-

tional standards and admissions policy, common in most other countries.

To those who founded the College Board in 1900, what was their future is now our present. And while this present undoubtedly surpasses their most extravagant calculations of educational quantities, it carries the clear threads of their wisdom and anticipatory vision.

President Charles W. Eliot of Harvard was one of the early protagonists of the concept of a voluntary standard-setting agency. Through his speaking and writing in the late 1890s, he moved education leaders closer to the establishment of such a group. Addressing the New York Schoolmasters Association in 1896, Elliot said:

"The thing we need to secure a uniform standard of enforcement by subject is an examining board, authorized to act for a large number of institutions, and conducted through agents appointed by its self-examinations all over the country . . . we should also obtain an admirable instrumentality for promoting uniformity in general and a closer connection between the secondary schools of the country and the colleges and universities."

Some four years later, 14 members of colleges and secondary school associations founded the College Entrance Examination Board. One of its early chairmen and principal leaders, Nicholas Murray Butler, later President of Columbia, took note of the anticipation of the future in comments he wrote in 1914:

"In my judgment, the College Entrance Examination Board is by far the most useful single constructive force that has ever come into the field of American secondary and collegiate education. It has not only brought the colleges together in joint effort; it has not only helped to standardize the work of secondary schools throughout the country by its definitions of sub-

jects of instruction and examination; but it has successfully performed the still more important service of bringing both colleges and secondary schools into close and effective cooperation for the purpose of dealing in a truly educational spirit with the transition from school to college."[14]

The articulating and unifying role of the Board as a voluntary association of both schools and colleges has been a unique force in the affairs of American education in this century. And through the cooperative spirit of its members, the Board may well have prevented the emergence of a federal system of college admissions examinations and selection, and of student financial aid administration, practices that in many countries have led to severe governmental controls of education and the freedom to learn.

Accordingly, in the context of a steadily growing and prospering educational system in the twentieth century this essay seeks to illuminate certain key developments and trends involving the Board that are relevant if not integral to broader developments in the schools and colleges of the country.

The speculations upon possible conditions to be anticipated in the year 2000 are seen in the "mirror" of the College Board, and while not presuming to reflect all issues affecting preparation for and transition to higher education, the essay does offer a device for viewing issues in which the Board does have usefulness—admissions standards, high school curriculum content, service to talented students, credit by examination, student financial aid standards, and counseling services in secondary schools and colleges.

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14. *The Work of the College Entrance Examination Board, 1901-1925, op. cit.*, p. 131.

The High School

Notwithstanding the Board's original purpose of mediating academic standards between the college-preparation efforts of secondary schools and the requirements of individual colleges, the collegiate institutions have tended to dominate policy formulation and governance.

Speculation 1:

Increasingly these next 25 years will reveal the need for a closer articulation and symmetry between high schools and colleges, especially in the linkage of course content and curriculum.

Our natural and well-founded repugnance as a nation for centralized government prescription of what shall be taught and learned gives substance to the *forum* of the College Board for the mediation of the necessary work. Here the parties convene without coercion or surveillance from any federal or other authority beyond their own professional competence and integrity.

The needs of the secondary and postsecondary institutions to move in curricular harmony were never so great. The later years of high school content for many students are duplicated wastefully in the early years of college. Yet, unquestionably, gaps in academic sequences prevail through inadvertence and inattention. Evolving academic diversity in the secondary schools and increasing openness and diversity in the postsecondary system call for dependable threads of continuity in what the schools shall teach, and how the colleges will relate to what students know. The widening concept of the educational process, the focusing of interest on education and work, the professional and public concern over the state of general education

and financial pressures on educational programs represent conditions tending to have splintering effects on curricular coherence. As the secondary schools move forward in the late 1970s to declare "what shall be taught," and as the institutions of higher education evolve, formulating new and increasingly diversified goals, they must not be oblivious of each other. The evident swing of the pendulum toward more rigorous academic standards is influencing secondary and college goals. The student is the victim of the unintended isolation of the two parties.

Perhaps, as never before, there is a need for a mechanism such as the College Board to facilitate the necessary consensus about purposes and programs in the continuum of secondary and postsecondary education.

Intense public and professional preoccupation with redressing the rate of high school dropouts has had a very effective record during the past 20 years. Stated differently, the retention rate has increased nationally from 50 percent to about 75 percent in 1975 (Chart 1).[15] However, in several states, most of them located in the South, the graduation rate is still below 70 percent.

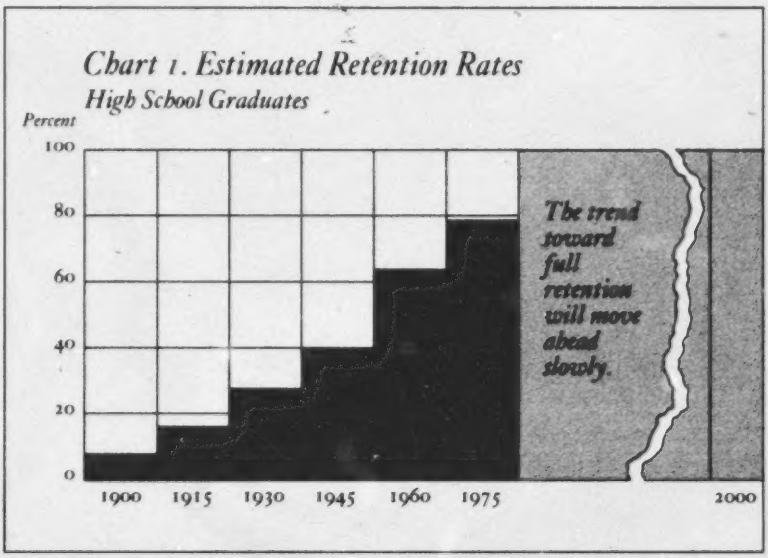
Speculation 2:
The trend toward full retention through 12 years of secondary school will continue through the year 2000, but at a slower rate of increase.

Retention will derive from a number of factors, not least of which will be intensified personal need by learners for occupational development in the technological marketplace, and the

15. The illustrative charts in this section are derived from and based on data from several sources, including the National Center for Education Statistics (U.S. Office of Education), the American Council on Education *Fact Books*, Carnegie Corporation publications, and College Board sources.

improved attitudes and resources of schools for readying young people for work as well as for college. The greatly expanded availability of financial aid, the burgeoning of the two-year college, and the upgrading of qualifications for certain careers have all played a role in the move toward full retention and will continue to influence it in the years ahead.

The conventional, sequential 12 years of school may well be changing, becoming less fixed and rigid, with more young people moving out of the system without social disapproval and back into it later for further development at will. The rigid time dimensions symbolized by "grade 12" will diminish. It is already clear that there will be a fluid, more individualized movement of students from school to work and back again, with easy access to both, and better mutual understanding and ap-



preciation of what each means and how the two correlate. As noted earlier the standards for academic linkage through curriculum articulation will become increasingly sensitive and necessary.

The learner, having perhaps chosen an occupation at the end of grade 10, may well go on to work but remain in formal and informal relationships with education, not only through grade 12 but beyond, with a variety of options. The discernible effects of career education as a reform concept in schools and colleges will facilitate this flow.

Speculation 3:
There will be a continuing pattern of high school graduates proceeding directly to college at about the 50 percent level (Chart 2).

The variety of levels of maturity, economic differences, and occupational motivations will diffuse the specificity of transition at grade 12 to college. The "other 50 percent" will, in increasing numbers, seek postsecondary education at a later date. Large numbers of students who are now dropouts—some 900,000 a year—will become mature learners, completing the conventions of secondary school one way or another, and a fair number of them will enter the pool of candidates for higher education. Heretofore excluded, they will be older, highly motivated, and purposeful in their postsecondary aspirations, stimulated by career aspirations as well as general education.

The Potential Learning Society

Perhaps one of the most discouraging pieces of information affecting higher education in 1975 is the projection of the declining birth rate. To the extent that this threatens the survival

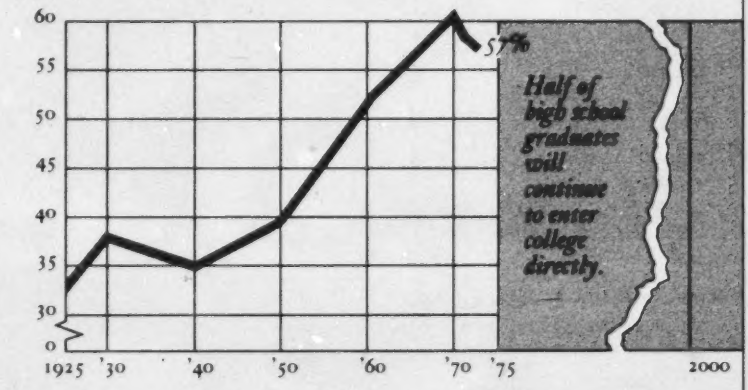
of some institutions this is a distress signal. But Chart 3 offers some clues to the planners. While the number of 15- to 24-year-olds reveals an abrupt leveling off in 1975, the total of all age groups in our population shows a steady increase, and those aged 25-64 will expand to become the largest segment between now and 2000.

Speculation 4:

The adult learning society (age 25 and above) will call increasingly for educational services during the next 25 years.

Forward-looking institutions, and one hopes these include the College Board, will increase the ease of access and the responsiveness of program options for the adult learner. Expectations will derive from increased leisure, occupational needs, and in-

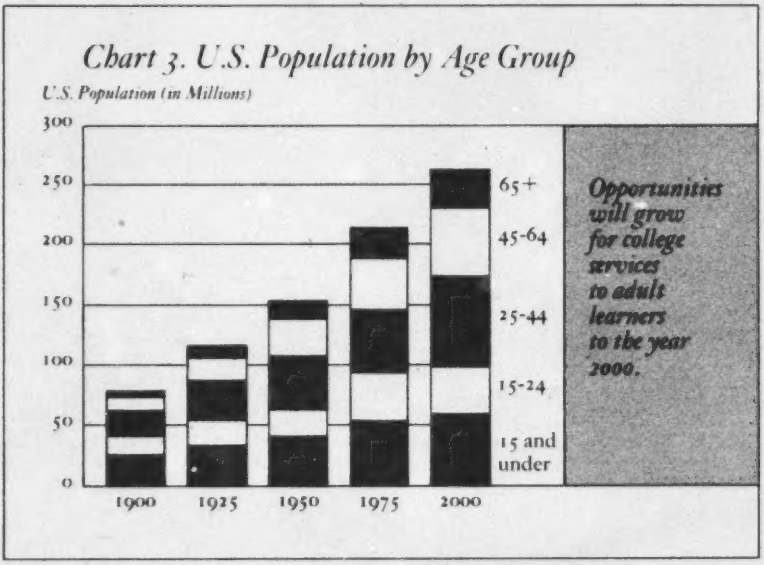
Chart 2. Percent of High School Graduates to First-Year College Entrants



tellectual and cultural aspirations. Numerous manifestations of this trend already exist in the form of open universities, for example, and in exploration of the whole important area of experiential learning and of competency-based examinations at several levels.

The number of students of 25 years and older may well exceed the predictable loss in numbers of the conventional college-going age group. They will increase by over 40 percent in numbers (40 million more potential older learners) by the year 2000.

The College Board, viewing the older adult learner as a swiftly increasing segment of our society, is engaged in research and development of processes and procedures for facilitating



transition at any age. This transition, as suggested earlier, may be from school to work, from work to school and college, and from college to college. The "college entry age group" becomes less and less definable as the quarter century progresses. In addition, it is likely that "learning centers" for adults will become both more numerous and more diverse. The corporation, the library, the trade union—the community itself—will all develop greater interest in and capacity for serving the new breed of learners. The essential and systematic relationships between the universities and colleges and these centers will also grow and in so doing will strengthen the whole fabric of higher education.

The Independent and Unconventional Learner

Since 1954 the College Board has offered the Advanced Placement Program to able and ambitious high school students who elect to study college courses and be examined in them while they are in high school. Since 1967, a corresponding offering, the College-Level Examination Program, designed for independent adult learners, has emerged as a corollary to the APP. CLEP in particular gives us clues to the future of independent study.

Speculation 5:

The number of learners gaining college credit by examination will increase steadily during the next 25 years (Chart 4).

Contrary to the uneasy concerns of some faculty members who see their formal in-class offerings devalued by CLEP, there is strong evidence to suggest that institutions of higher education will gain enrollment from a new student clientele attracted by credit by examination into the conventional upper-division

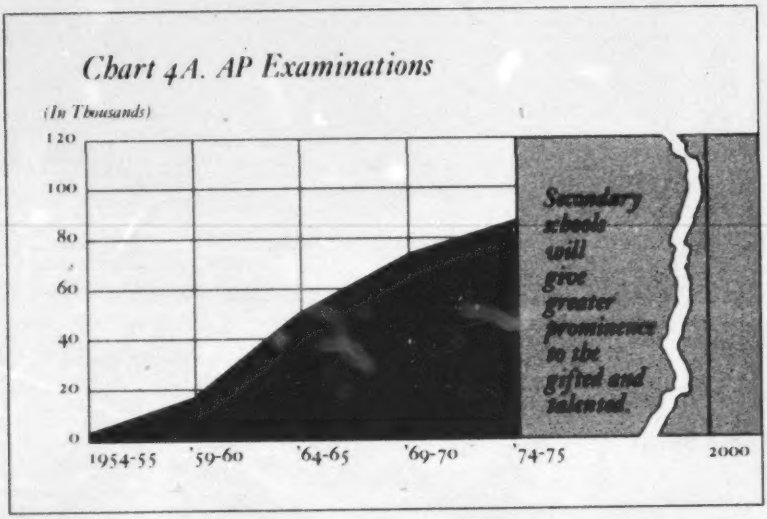


Chart 4A. AP Examinations
(In Thousands)
120
100
80
60
40
20
0
1954-55
'59-60
'64-65
'69-70
'74-75
2000
Secondary schools will give greater prominence to the gifted and talented.

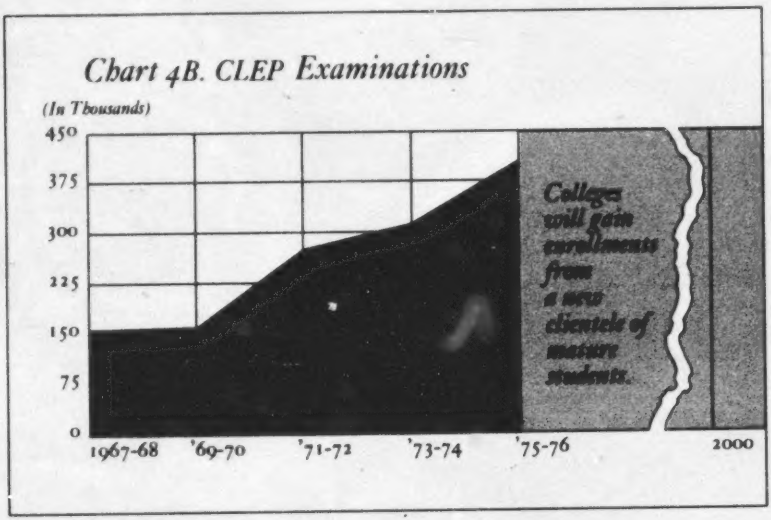


Chart 4B. CLEP Examinations
(In Thousands)
450
375
300
225
150
75
0
1967-68
'69-70
'71-72
'73-74
'75-76
2000
Colleges will gain enrollments from a new clientele of mature students.

curriculum. These will be mature students, who, in many cases, might never have entered higher education were it not for the CLEP incentive.

Since these two programs (APP and CLEP) are steadily increasing the scope of their subject offerings, it is likely that credit in most academic fields of the lower-division curriculum will be available by examination during the next 10 years. It is quite probable that the AP Program will increase its rate of growth as secondary schools give greater prominence to social expectations for serving the pool of gifted and talented young people, now estimated to be about 700,000 eleventh and twelfth graders, or 10 percent of the enrollment. Only 65,000 of the 700,000 now in both grades are being served by in-school APP classes. This will change, increasing steadily to the year 2000.

The Venerable SAT

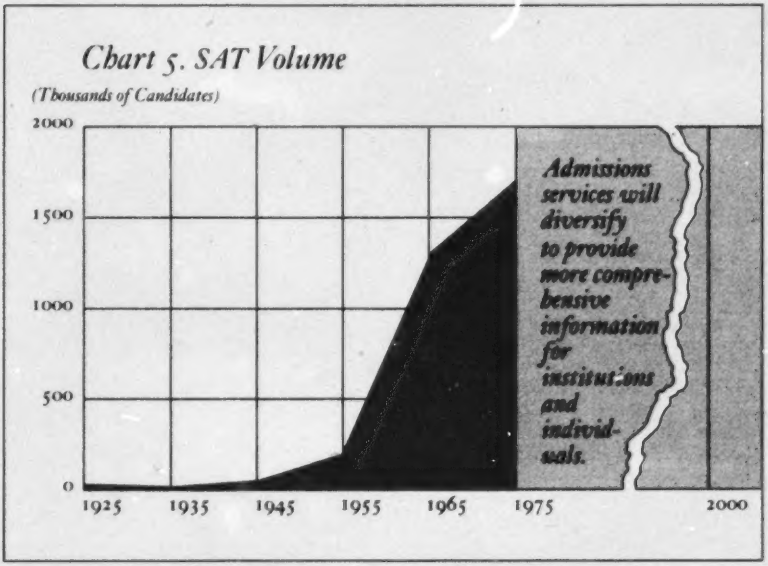
In addition to the changing patterns of school-to-college transition involving older and unconventional learners, there will in the next 25 years also be fluctuations in the degree of selectivity employed by institutions of higher education. The present trend toward openness will continue, with a move toward less exclusivity based solely on academic scales, even by the most selective colleges and universities. There will be more emphasis on measurement for educational programming purposes, suitable for the individual learner, and useful in placement under a variety of circumstances. There will also be a steady and growing demand for more comprehensive information about candidates, information considerably beyond what the Scholastic Aptitude Test and the Student Descriptive Questionnaire now provide.

Speculation 6:

A new and broader base of candidate information will be developed, building on the pattern of the SAT and serving changing institutional needs as well as those of a shifting student population.

Although Chart 5 indicates a swift growth of the SAT in the past 20 years, it is now leveling off, with the leveling off of college enrollment and of population cohorts described earlier.

The shift from a seller's (selective) market in the late 60s to a buyer's (recruiting) market in the mid-70s might suggest that the original purposes of the College Board and its Admissions Testing Program had been overtaken by events. Yet the venera-



ble SAT, its companion Achievement Tests, and the Student Descriptive Questionnaire are serving different functions, and possibly more fundamental ones, than they would if they were solely admissions instruments. The admissions officer, correspondingly, will occupy a *more strategic role in institutional* policy formulation.

The need for knowledge about the student body, both as individuals and as a corporate whole, increases each year. Planners need quickly turned-out data on the nature of a student's academic needs, on his or her academic and occupational aspirations, data on race and sex, placement and counseling information, data on financial condition and family and marital circumstances, and many other pieces of normative and discrete information, not only at the time of admissions decisions but throughout the college years. Expectations for accountability by institutions will push us toward *outcome measures* as well as entry measures. The College Board is now engaged in research and development efforts to increase the utility of the Admissions Testing Program, in response to the needs of institutions, as expressed *through association*, and equally important in response to the needs of individuals as they move toward important educational milestones in their own decision-making and planning for careers.

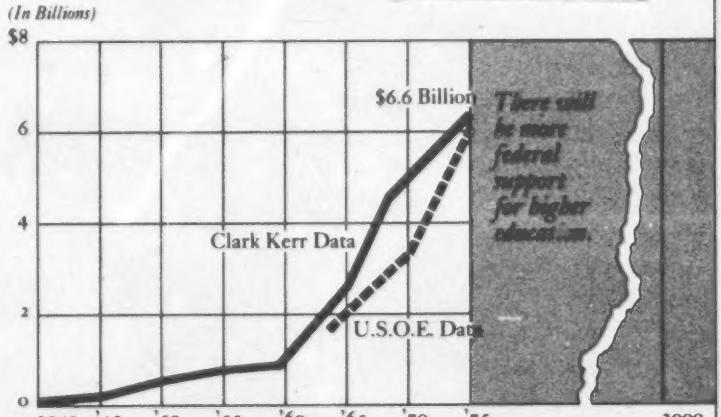
Something like the SAT, and its versatile printouts for management, will very likely be in use in the year 2000, but it may contain many new kinds of information and may be called something like the "Student Attributes Transcript." It will very probably sustain the highly developed predictive capacities of the present SAT but will enlarge greatly the student's knowledge of himself and the institution's comprehension of the individuals it serves.

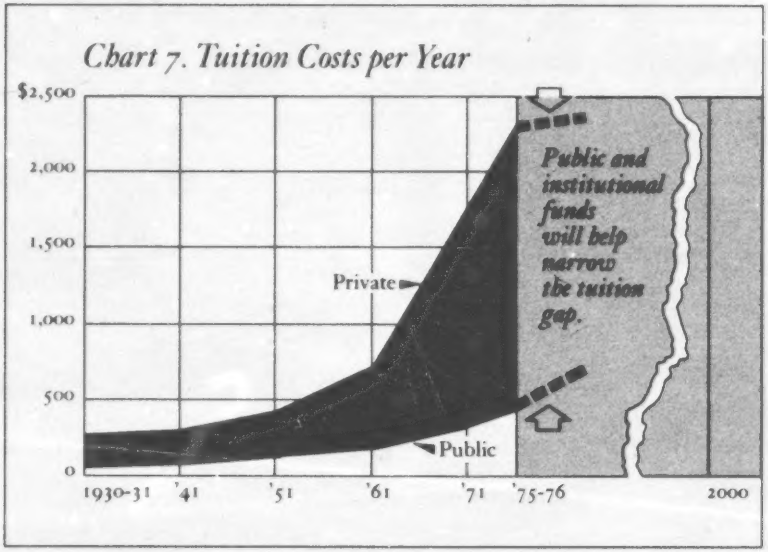
Financing Higher Education – The Federal Role

As Chart 6 illustrates, the federal investment supporting many aspects of higher education, including student aid, has grown immensely in the past decade or so and shows little sign of diminishing in the long run. It is worth noting that of all federal funds for higher education (excluding research), 76 percent now take the form of student aid. Ninety percent of the higher education funds in the U.S. Office of Education are allocated to this purpose.

Through the later 1960s and early 1970s the main thrust of support was in the form of loans, grants, and work-study programs, helping preserve freedom of choice for students and implying a marketplace condition of viability for higher educa-

Chart 6. Federal Funds for Higher Education





tion institutions, especially private colleges. When the College Scholarship Service was initiated by the College Board in 1954 there was an estimated total of $95 million available for student financial aid from all sources. That sum has in the past 19 years multiplied greatly, as we all know, to reach a total variously estimated today in a range between five and six billion dollars from all sources.

As this accelerated growth continued, so did the movement of students into the publicly supported sector of higher education. And while there has always been a disparity in tuition rates between public and private colleges, the early years of the present decade exacerbated that disparity through the convergence of high rates of inflation, social policy emphasis on low tuition rates in public colleges, and the leveling off of can-

didates for both public and private institutions (Chart 7). The result has been a deepening concern for the future economic survival of many private institutions, and indeed some public institutions as well.

Speculation 7:
There will be a gradual but very substantial dedication of state, federal, and institutional funds to redress the disparities between public and private tuition costs.

Our nation continues to value highly the essence of freedom and individuality epitomized by the private institutions. The dual public-private system of higher education will be sustained through an enlargement of state funding support of student financial aid, reinforced and supplemented by federal incentive allocations to states and by institutional resources deriving from increased corporate and individual gifts. While some form of federal subsidy for general support of private colleges will probably emerge, there seems little doubt that in the years ahead Congress and the state governments will continue to focus the bulk of their support of higher education *through students*, probably at an increasing rate.

Need analysis will take on an expanded function in order to assure substantial attention to the individual student's choice of college. The system should remove the bias imposed by underfunding, which favors low-cost institutions. Its province will include, beyond the measurement of the family's ability to pay, the computerized services for apportioning of the various forms of financial aid in relationship to the type of institution selected by the student. This approach would introduce broadly applicable determinations of the proportions of grant and self-help forms of aid received by students according to the college of

their choice. The state of residence should be the administrative agency for public fund processing. The combined federal and state aid will be portable, beyond state boundaries, and therefore reciprocal in effect. Diversity among institutions will increase, to meet the varying needs of students. This is not to say that some institutions will not close during the quarter century, and some will merge or become formally state-related. And other new institutions will be founded. But private colleges and universities, including small ones, will have their place in America in the year 2000.

Speculation 8:

By the year 2000, need analysis services will be furnished routinely to virtually all candidates for college admission (Chart 8).

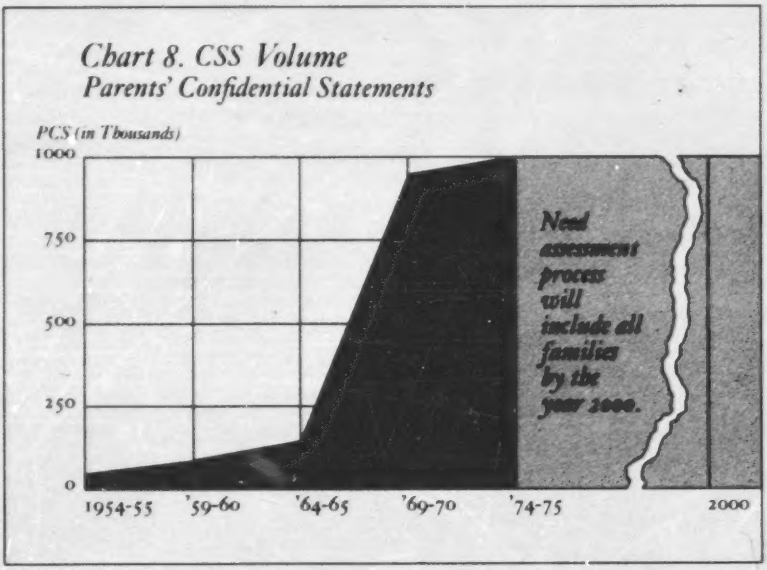
Sustained in part by Congressional determination to preserve a dual system of higher education, the present trend of student financial support will continue, derived in some part from a social policy that honors freedom of choice—even for the most needy.

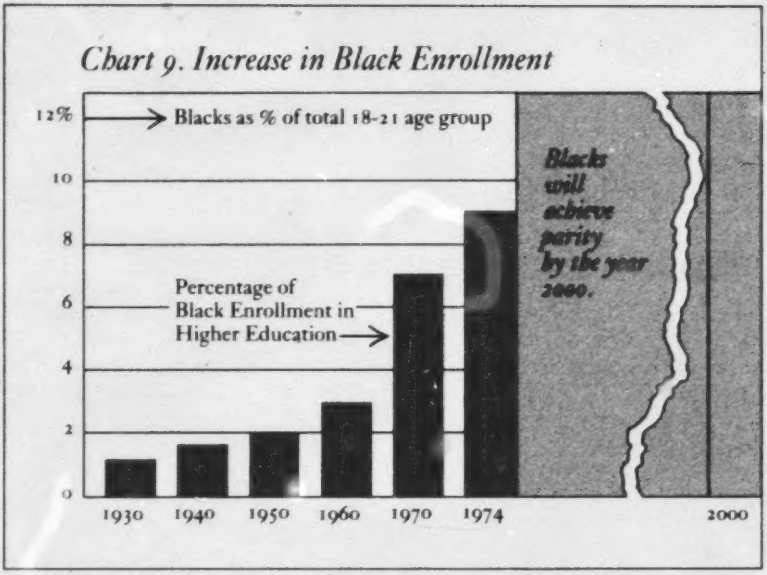
In the context of equal educational opportunity, the universal need analysis apparatus will resemble the Social Security or Medicaid system, irrespective of family income.

States will have a key role in developing and administering the program's eligibility criteria and the apportioning of different forms of financial aid funds, including federal allocations, to individual students within the context of the voluntary need analysis system. The CSS and similar organizations will offer umbrella services designed to contribute to a flexible, workable, and effective delivery system.

Racial Equality

Among the priorities that our nation has addressed with some effect as it has sought to engage the future on its own terms is the issue of equal educational opportunity. The problem is far from solved, but it promises significant forward movement by the end of the century. Blacks at this time make up about 12 percent of the 18- to 21-year-old age group. Yet only about 8-9 percent of the total college-going population is black, in spite of recent progress. The rates of attrition for blacks in the secondary schools is still far too high and obviously bears directly on the problem of increasing the pool of those moving on to colleges and universities. Between 1963 and 1968, for instance, the gap between the percentage of nonwhite and white high school





graduates entering college actually widened, after some years of favorable progress. Yet the gains of the past decade by blacks have been both dramatic and encouraging, especially seen in the perspective of the past 40 to 50 years (Chart 9).

Speculation 9:

Blacks will achieve parity with whites as a percent of their numbers enrolled in higher education by the year 2000.

The College Board has given forceful attention to this subject for at least 15 years. Our efforts, *through association* with many other concerned institutions, have made a difference, and more gains will follow in the years immediately ahead.

Yet the circumstances of some of the other minorities are as

bad or worse than those of the blacks 40 years ago. If we truly mean to say that reasonable and intelligent men and women can anticipate the future and influence its shape, then we must work harder at this task. The College Board will continue to dedicate funds and manpower within its means to facilitating and expediting access to higher education, especially for minority men and women.

Voluntary Association for Problem Solving

The "speculations" advanced in this essay have derived from the assumption that through the *forum* process, educational institutions have voluntarily entered mutually conceived covenants in the past, and through such covenants have influenced the course of events. The College Board is the product of such a covenant. Moving from its original function as a medium for standardizing college admissions criteria, it has become a much more diversified instrument for anticipating and solving some of the educational problems described here. It has, in remarkable ways, redeemed the aspirations of the founders who in their time probed the future, as we do now.

It is a long and unclear road to the twenty-first century, but the College Board's past may serve as both mirror and prologue to the needs and demands of the remaining 25 years. The important thing, as College Board Chairman Nicholas Murray Butler said in 1914, is that the schools and colleges sustain a close and intimate association, dealing with common interests, and continue their development as "a source of strength the full power of which has yet to be tested in ways we cannot now foresee."

In a very real sense, the College Board has participated in the democratization of the school-to-college transition. Through the development and expansion of its series of objective na-

tional examinations and related student services, the Board and its member institutions have contributed to the broadening of access for minorities and low-income students whose background and resources might in earlier years have quickly excluded them from any consideration of or by colleges. The most obscure and remote high school has been brought to parity with the most renowned preparatory school as a springboard for access to equal educational opportunity for its young people.

Without these physical tools and organizational resources, the sweeping movement toward educational egalitarianism generated in public policy and law over the past quarter century could, in fact, have overwhelmed our institutions. If there had not been a College Board, something like it would have been invented.

Speculation 10:

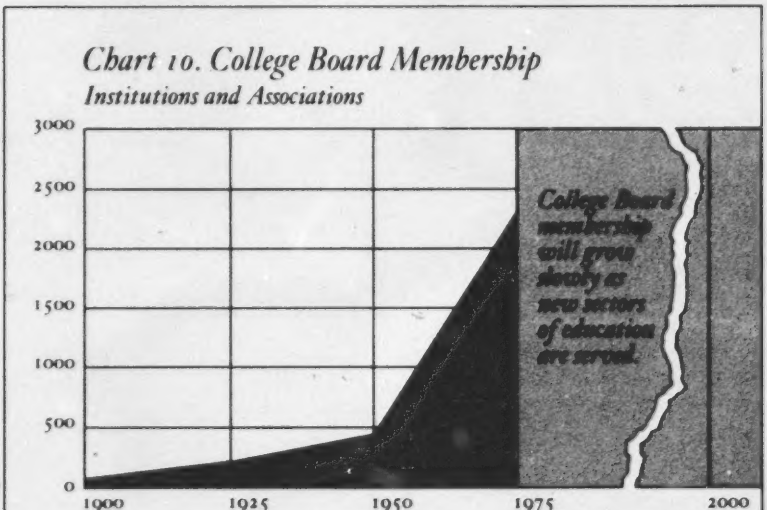
The programs and services of the College Board will continue to grow. Membership will show moderate gains as new sectors of education are served (Chart 10).

Elaborate governance procedures, including councils, commissions, and regional subdivisions for policy development and election of trustees, engage literally hundreds of individuals each year in the affairs of the corporation. Following the tradition launched by Eliot, Butler, and others, the Board has served a unique function as "medium for the convocation of secondary schools, colleges and other institutions of higher learning for the discussion of their common problems . . . and to further the development of representative opinion with respect to educational standards."

The reason for membership, very simply stated, is the desire on the part of institutions to heed Daniel Webster and influence

the future by "association." The condition for membership, equally simply stated, is the regular use of one or more College Board programs. Thus the ends and the means converge to provide a continuing "medium for convocation."

These "speculations" upon the future of some parts of American education are not the product of scientific analysis or formal research. They are judgments, based in part on the simple extrapolation of data, and in part on our capacity as educators to influence the future by intelligent planning. Surely we as school and college people cannot control such phenomena as economic cycles or birth-rate trends. But we can examine them, design constructive ways to respond to them, and soften their inadvertent impact on what we hold to be right. The mirror of



the College Board holds many affirmative signs for education's future. It holds anxious signs as well. The measure of our usefulness will be weighed by others in the year 2000. For surely measurement, good or bad, will be with us still.

There is a history of all men's lives,
Figuring the nature of the times deceased;
The which observed, a man may prophesy,
With a near aim, of the main chance of things
As yet not come to life. . . .
. . . Such things become the hatch and brood of time.

Shakespeare, HENRY IV, PART II